CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND THE APPLICATION OF THE THEORY

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based upon the research data generated by the 2003 survey of Zoroastrians in Europe. The survey was conducted via a questionnaire which was mailed to members of the known Zoroastrian community in Europe. In this chapter, the reasons for using a questionnaire type survey will be discussed, giving the reasons for what was done, why, and what was found. It will also include a discussion about why the survey approach was taken and the strengths and weakness of survey methods.

The 2003 survey was part of a longitudinal study of Zoroastrians in Europe. In 1976 Professor John Hinnells surveyed Zoroastrians in the UK. It was the first in a series of surveys that were repeated in 1985 and 2003. The 2003 survey was carried out at the request of the Zoroastrians themselves because they were aware that the community had changed since 1985. The support from the Zoroastrian community, both personal and financial, for the 2003 survey has been generous and unstinting. This is the first longitudinal study in the UK, each survey consciously building on the other, of a South East Asian religious group in Europe. The author has been part of all three surveys from collating and analyzing the data from the 1976 survey, collaborating with Professor Hinnells on drawing up the 1985 survey as well as analyzing the data thus generated, and drawing up, administering and analyzing the data from the 2003 survey. The 1976 and 1985 surveys of Zoroastrians in Europe are the basis of the literature survey for this paper. The 1976 survey had a simple questionnaire from which the much more complex questionnaires of 1985 and 2003 were developed. The questionnaires for the three surveys

can be found in Appendix B. New questions were added to the 1985 and 2003 questionnaires. In 2003, the data generated by the new questions about the Zoroastrian purity laws have given an original contribution to research into South East Asian religious groups in Europe. The longitudinal survey itself, as well as other research generated by the 2003 survey, is original research and contributes and adds to an understanding of South East Asian religious groups in Europe. However, in this paper, because of the word limit of 100,000 words, the original research to be reported will be of the longitudinal survey and of the Zoroastrian purity laws. There will be a discussion about the theoretical background, both theological and secular, to the Zoroastrian concept of purity and pollution and the purity laws emanating from this concept.

SOCIAL SURVEYS

Social surveys are a method of obtaining large amounts of data about people in a relatively short space of time. The information can either be explanatory or descriptive. There are about nine stages to go through in executing social surveys, starting with choosing the topic to be studied, through the literature review to drafting the questionnaire, trialling the questionnaire and administering it to the appropriate population. Then the collating and coding of the data is followed by the analyses, the written report and the publication of the report. [1] There is considerable philosophical discussion about what quantitative research methods, such as survey material, actually present to the researcher.[2] There is some philosophical concern about individuals being tested and then the results added together. This engenders a view of society that it is composed of an aggregation of disparate individuals who do not know one another. [3] It is considered inappropriate to study patterns of relationships and interaction using random sampling methods which produce the responses of disparate individuals in aggregate form. Methods such as snowball

sampling are considered more suitable for this type of research and certainly in my work on Zoroastrians I have used material that was collected by snowball sampling, or interviewing people who were either known to the interviewer or to each other, if only by reputation within the community. Snowball sampling is not a random sample, but one collected by sending out questionnaires to people who are known to be in the community to be surveyed who then pass on the information about the survey to people who might want to be involved; like a rolling snowball, the sample gets bigger and bigger. In the surveys of 1976, 1985 and 2003, questionnaires were sent to all the known members of the community in the UK, and Europe in 2003. Other Zoroastrians, who were not members of the official Zoroastrian organisations, heard about the survey and wrote asking for questionnaires. All the known members of the Zoroastrian community in Europe were sent questionnaires, but not all Zoroastrians in Europe received them or asked for them. The surveys are 'snap shots' of the Zoroastrian community in Europe, at specific points in time, 1976, 1985, and 2003.

The advantages of survey research are that large numbers of people can be included in the research and that the personal influence, in terms of social interaction, of the researcher is minimal. It enables comparisons to be made between different populations. The disadvantages are that it cannot be known if what people say they do or think is what they actually do or think. All this type of research has to be qualified by the statement that the respondents **wrote** that they thought or did such and such. Survey style research imposes limits on the structure of data being collected rather than letting the research situation dictate the structure of the data. The results that the researcher obtains are dependent upon a number of factors and these have to be taken into consideration when evaluating the results of survey research, or for that matter any type of social research. [4] Zoroastrians answer the questions with 'yes', 'no', or did not answer the

question ‘no response’, but they also write what they think about a particular question whether they have been asked to do so or not. The ‘no response’ from the respondents is important and can be used in the analyses, provided that the respondent has answered the other questions in the relationship being analysed. Zoroastrians do not always answer questions that they consider to be controversial, or private or personal. A ‘no response’ does not mean that they do not know the answer to the question. Where there are significant numbers of ‘no responses’ in a set of relationships being analysed, they will be included in the analyses. The category ‘don’t know’ was not used in the questionnaire because respondents can use it as a mechanism for not answering the question. It was considered preferable that the respondents gave a ‘no response’ rather than ‘don’t know’: it is difficult to use a ‘don’t know’ category. Zoroastrians can hold strong opinions about their religion and they write comments on the questionnaire when they feel moved to do so. Not only were the questions answered as requested with affirm, reject or no response, there were interesting comments written about most of the questions by some of the respondents: not all the respondents wrote their own views and of those that did so, there were comments about individual questions that interested the respondents and not about every single question. One of the responses that stands out is simply ‘!!’ about the purity laws. That sort of comment brings the person filling in the questionnaire into focus and they cease to be just a set of numbers.

SURVEY RESULTS

The results of the 2003 survey will be given in the form of data that concentrates on percentages of the respondents from the total group and raw figures, N, the actual numbers of the respondents who answered the question in that particular way. It is difficult to

give an actual percentage or raw figures that are significant because there are some quite small groups of people in the data set who have to be considered, not least being the Iranian Zoroastrians: the Iranians represent one strand of Zoroastrianism, the other strand being represented by the Parsis, Indian Zoroastrians. The Iranians never count for more than 24 people in any of the surveys. In tables generated by the data there can be small numbers of Iranians, as low as 1 or 2, but they cannot be ignored because of the low numbers. A general 'rule of thumb' of the least numbers to be considered statistically significant is about 30 people, but in this paper that would cut out a number of interesting sub-groups, such as respondents who came from Iran, Pakistan, China, and other parts of the world, including mainland Europe.[5] In the paper the percentages are rounded down for .5% or less and rounded up for .6% or more. When large numbers of people are being analysed, the percentages can be the same for different raw figures: 73 or 75 people might comprise 12% of the total; for example, in chapter 2 table 7, 12%, 75, of the respondents in total 2003 survey rarely wore their Sedreh/ Sudre and 12%, 73, never wore their Sedreh/ Sudre.

As well as looking at the percentages and raw figures for the responses to the questionnaire, the paper will look for recurring or repeated responses to the questions or similar questions within and across the three surveys. In a sense, patterns in the responses to the questions are being sought, but patterns suggest the use of statistics and this paper is not an exercise in complex or even simple statistics, apart from percentages and raw figures. The paper presents how people responded to a particular questionnaire at a particular time. The results are not going to be extrapolated to the wider Zoroastrian community in Europe. If repeated or recurring responses occur, then it will be suggested that these repeated or recurring responses might be found in

other surveys in the future. Statistical interpretation of the research data was important with regard to the 1985 survey in demonstrating that there were questions missing from the questionnaire schedule, especially with the analysis of the Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries: this construct is defined later in the text. Only 29% of the statistical variance could be explained in the relationships between the symbolic boundaries and other data from the 1985 survey. When a similar statistical exercise was undertaken with the 2003 data, 70% of the variance could be explained with the addition of the new questions about the purity laws and the respondent's feelings about Zoroastrianism. This is a very high statistically explained variance and it suggests that one of the variables, the purity laws, is not independent of the variable symbolic boundaries: they are measuring the same basic construct, that of purity laws., The problem of the lack of statistical variance in the explanation of the Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries and what had been missing from the 1985 questionnaire, was considered when the questionnaire for the 2003 survey was being drawn up. Neither questions about purity and pollution, the concepts at the centre of the Zoroastrian religion, nor the respondent's feelings with regard to Zoroastrian religion, nor other new questions about the values of the Zoroastrian religion versus European values, had been included the 1985 and 1976 schedules.

RESULTS GENERATED BY SPSS

SPSS is the computer program that was used to deal with the massive amount of data generated by the 2003 survey. SPSS can be used to generate complex statistics. For this paper, SPSS was only used to code the data and generate raw numbers, N, and simple frequency distributions: how many percent of the respondents affirm (tick 'yes' to the question on the questionnaire), reject (tick 'no' to the question on the

questionnaire), 'no response' (do not respond to the question on the questionnaire) or other comments to the open ended questions. SPSS is a flexible program which allows one to create variables as the research proceeds. A question about the highest educational level reached by the respondent was not asked in the 2003 questionnaire, but a variable 'the highest education level reached by each respondent' could be built from the information gathered by the survey. The raw data generated 301 variables in the SPSS data set, but by the completion of the analyses, over 600 variables had been generated or derived from the raw data. The SPSS program was used to look at the inter-group and intra-group relations between the respondents and their religious values. In inter-group, the data was analysed looking the whole group of men and women (table 14), or when the whole group is divided into the affirming group and the rejecting group (table 9), and their responses to the questions about their religious vales were compared. In the intra-group analysis, responses of the total group were compared under sub-groups such as age, as shown in table 7a, chapter 5. The SPSS program also allows the researcher to look at various demographic attributes of the respondents, and these are compared together with their responses to the questions about their religious values.

DATA ANALYSES

A term or construct that is used in the paper is that of symbolic boundaries. This is a way of conceptualising the barriers that Zoroastrians put between themselves and non-Zoroastrians and it is a way of defining who is a Zoroastrian and who is not a Zoroastrian. These boundaries can be considered as a form of external purity laws and they are the nearest that the data from the 1976 and 1985 surveys have regarding the purity laws.[6] In the 2003 survey comments such as 'No half breeds wanted' were given in response to the questions about children of inter-marrieds

being initiated. The question about any non-Zoroastrian undergoing Naujote got responses such as ‘Only if they are of Iranian origin’. ‘If they respect our purity laws’ was one of the responses to the questions about non-Zoroastrians entering the prayer rooms or Fire Temples. These responses are manifesting the Zoroastrian respondents’ concern with pollution and their life long battle with pollution: all non-Zoroastrians and their actions and possessions are impure and potentially polluting for Zoroastrians. This will be discussed later in the chapter in the section on the theory of purity and pollution. There is considerable controversy amongst Zoroastrians about the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. In the research generated by the 1976 survey, that is what it was called: the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. By 1985 more research had been conducted on this area of Zoroastrian experience and there was considerable theory from Social Anthropology and Sociology to support the concept of symbolic boundaries being used to describe the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism. Anthropologists and Sociologists have developed theories about the symbolic boundaries of ethnic groups, and they are concerned with ‘boundedness’ of a group which can be symbolic or real. The bases of such symbolic boundaries are territoriality, history, language, economic considerations, and symbolic identifications of one kind or another: in other words, religion. [7] The research generated by the data on symbolic boundaries in 1985 led to the inclusion of the purity laws and other new questions in 2003. In the 2003 data set, the symbolic boundaries could be measured by looking at the following variables, shown in table 2.

TABLE 2 **QUESTIONS USED IN THE MEASUREMENT OF THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES OF ZOROASTRIANISM**
1. Regarding inter-marriage: do you accept or object?
2. Can children of inter-marrieds Sedreh-Pushi: Naujote if father

TABLE 2

QUESTIONS USED IN THE MEASUREMENT OF THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES OF ZOROASTRIANISM

Zoroastrian?
3. Can children of inter-marrieds Sedreh-Pushi: Naujote if mother Zoroastrian?
4. Can children of inter-marrieds undergo Sedreh-Pushi: Naujote if either parent is a Zoroastrian?
5. Can non-Zoroastrian spouse to be allowed to undergo Sedreh/ Pushi: Naujote?
6. Can Priests bless inter-marriages?
7. Should the community accept inter-marrieds' children?
8. Can non-Zoroastrians and children be full members of Zoroastrian Associations?
9. Can any non-Zoroastrian to be allowed to undergo Sedreh/ Pushi: Naujote?
10. Can non-Zoroastrians enter prayer rooms at any time?
11. Can non-Zoroastrians enter the prayer room if married to Zoroastrian?
12. Can non-Zoroastrians enter the prayer room if they are the children of inter- marrieds?
13. Can non-Zoroastrians enter the prayer room if no religious ceremony is taking place?
14. Can non-Zoroastrians enter the prayer room for educational purposes?
15. Can non-Zoroastrians enter Fire Temples at any time?
16. Can non-Zoroastrians enter Fire Temples if married to Zoroastrian?
17. Can non-Zoroastrians enter Fire Temples if they re the children of inter-marrieds?
18. Can non-Zoroastrian enter Fire Temples if no religious ceremony is taking place?
19. Can non-Zoroastrians enter Fire Temples for educational purposes?
20. Can non-Zoroastrians attend the funeral services at Brookwood?
21. Can non-Zoroastrians attend Favardigan/ Muktad ceremonies?
22. Can non-Zoroastrians attend Jashans?
23. Can non-Zoroastrians attend Gahambars?

For the comparison of the three surveys in chapter 3, only those variables that were available in 1976 and 1985, as well as 2003, have been used to measure the symbolic boundaries and the other religious practices and beliefs. They are shown in table 3: The comparison variables from the 1976, 1985 and 2003 surveys.

TABLE 3
THE COMPARISON VARIABLES FROM THE 1976, 1985, 2003 SURVEYS

Zoroastrian Religious Practices
1. Were you taught about Zoroastrian faith at school?
2. Do you pray at home?
3. Do you wear the Sedreh/ Sudre?
4. Do you wear the Pushi/ Kusti?
5. Which funeral practices would you prefer in Europe?
Zoroastrian Religious Beliefs
6. Do you believe in the immortality of the soul?
7. Do you believe in reincarnation?
8. Do you believe in the resurrection of the body?
9. Do you believe in Heaven and Hell?
10. Are prayers for the dead absolutely necessary?
11. Are prayers for the dead for the dead?
12. Are prayers for the dead for the living?
13. Are prayers for the dead meaningless?
Zoroastrian Symbolic Boundaries
14. Regarding intermarriage do you accept/ object?
15. Can children of inter-marriage undergo Sedreh/ Pushi: Naujote?
16. Can any non-Zoroastrian to be able to undergo Sedreh/ Pushi: Naujote?
17. Can non-Zoroastrians allowed in the prayer rooms at any time?

The data for partners Zoroastrians or non-Zoroastrian does not always agree with the data for single or married because some of the respondents have partners but are not married. Partners have been treated as ‘married’ in the analyses married Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian but as single in the analyses of single/ married.

REPORTING THE DATA ANALYSES

The analysing and reporting of the data from the 1976 and 1985 surveys did not use statistical techniques except for percentages and raw figures. This method of reporting using only percentages and raw figures will be continued in this paper in the analyses and reporting of the 2003 data.. More sophisticated statistical techniques were used to look at specific aspects of the Zoroastrians in the two data sets, 1976 and 1985 some of which will be reported in the sections dealing with the analyses of these data sets. In reporting the data analyses it will be clumsy to use the phrases 'the respondent wrote 'yes' or 'the respondent wrote 'no' in the text and the words 'affirm' and 'reject' will be used instead of these phrases. It must be remembered that the respondents did not affirm or reject, they answered 'yes' or 'no' or 'no response'. If the phrases 'do you affirm' or 'do you reject' were used, the responses might have been different: 'yes' and 'no' are clear cut in a way that affirm and reject are not.

A form of short hand will sometimes be used in the text to cover the religious practices, religious beliefs and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. As a group they will be referred to as Zoroastrian religious values. Support for the religious values means support for religious practices and beliefs and rejection for change to the symbolic boundaries; less support for the religious values means rejection for religious practices and beliefs and support for changing the symbolic boundaries.

The data will be reported in tabular form and comments made about the significance of the data in that particular table. If it is not significant as regards the paper the results will just be reported.

THE 2003 SURVEY

The survey was pre-tested by sending out the questionnaire to 16 members of the Zoroastrian community in Europe, ranging from young to old, women and men, Iranian Zoroastrians and Parsi Zoroastrians. Their comments were noted, considered and action taken to change the questionnaire. The changes were beneficial except for one where a young Iranian Zoroastrian suggested that the wording for the questions about visiting the 'Old Country' regarding the respondent's reactions to poverty, corruption and dirt be changed to 'shocked by attitudes to poverty, corruption and dirt'. The respondents wrote that they were not shocked by the attitudes of the local people to poverty, corruption and dirt in the 'old country' but they, personally, were shocked by the poverty, corruption and dirt.

The 2003 survey was mailed out from North Yorkshire using address lists supplied by the World Zoroastrian Organisation and the Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe. Pre-paid envelopes were included with the questionnaire for return to North Yorkshire. There was one anonymous abusive letter sent using the pre-paid envelope. There were two abusive comments, both from women, in the last section of their questionnaires. This data was included in the data on the SPSS files; it is all part of the research. In 2003 non-Zoroastrian spouses were asked to fill in a questionnaire and 18 did so.

THE 1976 SURVEY

The 1976 questionnaire was the shortest of the three questionnaires. The survey was carried out by Professor John Hinnells in 1976, under the auspices of the Department of Comparative Religion, the University of Manchester and the Open University, Milton Keynes. The questionnaire was initially distributed in the UK through the official Zoroastrian organisation in the UK, Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe, (ZTFE). There was a

snowball effect with people who were not sent a questionnaire by ZTFE asking to take part in the survey. 314 people responded to the survey, which was approximately 16% of the total Zoroastrian population in the UK at the time. The data generated 74 variables from the questionnaire schedule.

Table 4 presents a demographic profile of the respondents in the 1976 survey. This is a group of people who are mainly members of the middle class by virtue of their occupations and, if one looks at their class position according to their educational achievement, then they are overwhelmingly middle class. The majority of them came from the sub continent of India with only 3% born in the UK. However, 12% came from Africa, which is important to bear in mind because of the position they gain in the Zoroastrian community by the time of the1985 survey. The majority of the respondents had family members in the UK and they kept in touch with other Zoroastrians both inside and outside the UK. Only 1% did not have any Zoroastrian friends in the UK.

TABLE 4
1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS

QUESTION	**1976 Total Group N=314**					
Gender	Men 56% (177)			Women 43% (136)		
Age	Under 30 15% (47)	30-39 23% (72)	40-49 29% (91)	50-59 18% (56)	60-69 9% (28)	70+ 8% (25)
Marital Status	Never been married 19% (60)			Married/partner 81% (254)		

TABLE 4
1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS

Marital Partner	Zoroastrian 84% (213)		Non-Zoroastrian 15% (38)			
Type of family in Europe	Extended 55% (173)		Nuclear 17% (53)		No family 25% (78)	
Place live now	Greater London 79%(247)		Other places 20%(64)		No response 1%(3)	
Place came from to Europe	India 73%(230)	Pakistan 8%(25)	Africa 11%(36)	Iran 2%(7)	Other 2%(6)	Born Europe 3%(10)
Education Level	Postgraduate 7% (22)	Undergraduate 41% (129)	Further 25% (78)	Secondary or less 27% (85)		
Occupation	Professio-nal 27% (85)	Business 3% (9)	White collar 23% (72)	Blue collar 5% (16)	Retired 25% (78)	No response 19% (60)
Father's Occupation	Professio-nal 32%(100)	Business 23% (73)	White collar 31% (97)	Blue collar 9% (28)	Retired 2% (6)	No response 3% (9)
Mother's occupation	Professio-nal 4% (12)	Business 2% (6)	White collar 7% (22)	Blue collar 1% (3)	Home-maker 67%(210)	No response 19% (60)

A list of the responses to some of the religious questions in 1976 is given in table 5. The questions are restricted to those that were common to all three surveys, 1976, 1985, and 2003 which were listed in table 3 under Data Analyses. There is a high percentage,

37%, 117, of rejection of the proposition that any non-Zoroastrian can undergo Naujote and become a Zoroastrian. Support for the acceptance of the children of Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian marriages to undergo Naujote is high at 63%, 198, if either parent is a Zoroastrian. Thirty two percent, 102 object. There is very low support for belief in resurrection of the body, two respondents, and in heaven and hell, 14, respondents and only 31%, 99, believe that prayers for the dead are necessary.

TABLE 5
1976 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS

QUESTION	**1976 Total Group N=314**				
Were you taught about Zoroastrian faith at school?	Yes 40% (126)	No 58% (182)	No response 1%(3)		
Do you pray at home?	Daily 61% (191)	Sometimes 21% (66)	Rarely 11% (34)	Never 7% (22)	
Do you wear Sudre/ Kusti	Always 70% (220)	Sometimes 10% (31)	Rarely 6% (19)	Never 13% (41)	
If you have Children under 18 years do you teach them to pray?	Yes 53% (166)	No 4%(12)	No response 44% (138)		
Do your children under 18 years wear Sudre/ Kusti?	Always 23% (72)	Sometimes 5% (16)	Rarely 2% (6)	Never 4% (12)	No response 68% (213)

TABLE 5

1976 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Which funeral practices do you prefer?	Dokhma 15% (47)	Cremation 56% (176)	Burial 8% (25)	Do not mind 20% (63)
Do you believe in immortality of the soul?	Yes 13% (42)	No 38% (120)	No response 48% (152)	
Do you believe in reincarnation ?	Yes 10% (33)	No 41% (129)	No response 48% (152)	
Do you believe in resurrection of the body?	Yes .6% (2)	No 51% (160)	No response 48% (152)	
Do you believe in heaven and hell?	Yes 4% (14)	No 47% (148)	No response 48% (152)	
Are prayers for the dead necessary?	Yes 31% (99)	No 54% (170)	No response 14% (45)	
Are prayers for the dead beneficial?	Yes 44% (138)	No 42% (132)	No response 14% (45)	
Are prayers for the dead meaningless?	Yes 10% (32)	No 75% (237)	No response 14% (45)	
Can children of inter-marriages undergo Naujote?	Yes 63% (198)	No 32%(102)	No response 4%(14)	

TABLE 5 **1976 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS**			
Regarding inter-marriage do you..?	Accept 74% (231)	Object 19% (60)	No response 7% (23)
Can any non-Zoroastrian undergo Naujote?	Yes 49% (154)	No 37% (117)	No response 14% (43)
Can non-Zoroastrians enter prayer room at any time?	Yes 45% (143)	No 46% (144)	No response 9% (27)

The statistical analyses of the 1976 survey data found the variables that had the highest statistical significance in their measured relationship with Zoroastrian religious values of the respondents and these are shown in table 6.

TABLE 6 **1976 SURVEY:THE VARIABLES WITH THE HIGHEST STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE WITH THE RELIGIOUS VALUES** [8]
1. The type of marriage partner: Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian
2. Education of respondent: abroad/ Education UK
3. Country of origin of the respondent
4. Longest occupation of the respondent: abroad/ UK
5. Occupation of the respondent
6. Gender of the respondent

These results can be used a guide to what is important to analyse in detail regarding the relationships between Zoroastrian religious values and the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Table 7 lists the five religious practices questions from the 1976 survey.

TABLE 7 **1976 SURVEY:THE FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS**
1, Were you taught about the Zoroastrian faith at school?
2, Do you pray at home?
3, Do you wear the Sedreh/ Sudre?
4, Do you wear the Pushi/ Kusti?
5, Which funeral practices would you prefer in Europe?

In table 8: 1976 survey: 'Demography: People who affirmed or rejected all five religious practice questions', the people who responded affirm and reject to all the religious practices questions in the 1976 survey will be analysed. Any box shaded light grey in the table means that the respondents in these boxes affirmed the religious practices questions and any box shaded dark grey means that the respondents rejected the religious practices questions.

Eighty six respondents, 27% of the total group, supported all five religious practices and 11 respondents, 3% of the total group, rejected all five religious practices. The latter group of eleven respondents is very small and these figures cannot be considered, the lowest number to be considered is 30 as was noted in the section Survey Results. These respondents, who supported all or rejected all five religious practices, represent the 'extreme' positions to be taken with regard to attitudes to the religious practices; most of the respondents will fall between the two extremes. Instead of the 11 respondents the respondents who rejected at least one religious practice are included in the table. By looking at the respondents who affirm all or reject some of the religious practices, a 'black and grey' picture can be drawn of the differences between the two groups of people in terms of their demographic characteristics. It is called 'grey' because it will not be as clear cut as if the respondents rejected all of the religious

practices. There were 210 respondents who rejected at least one of the religious practices.

TABLE 8
1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHYOF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL OR REJECTED SOME OF THE FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	48%	52%				
N=86	41	45				
	59%	41%				
N=210	123	86				
Age	Under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	6%	27%	35%	15%	13%	5%
N=86	5	23	30	13	11	4
	19%	23%	26%	18%	7%	7%
N=210	40	48	55	38	14	15
Marital status	single	married				
	10%	89%				
N=86	9	77				
	23%	77%				
N=210	49	161				
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	Non-Zoroastrian				
	90%	9%				
N=77	69	8				
	88%	17%				
N=161	148	30				
Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	17%	83%				
N=86	15	71				
	16%	62%				
N=210	34	130				

TABLE 8

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHYOF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL OR REJECTED SOME OF THE FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Place live now	Greater London area	Other		
	77%	23%		
N=86	66	20		
	79%	19%		
N=210	166	41		

Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	Other	Born UK
	73%	13%	13%	1%		
N=86	63	11	11	1		
	74%	6%	11%	2%	2%	5%
N=210	155	12		5	5	10

Metropolitan/ urban rural	Metropolitan	Urban or rural		
No information in 1976 survey				

Place of Education	**abroad**	**Abroad + UK**	**UK**			
	77%	20%	27%			
N=86	65	17	3			
	63%	18%	15%			
N=210	133	38	31			

Level of Education	**primary**	**secon d-ary**	**further**	**under-graduate**	**post-graduate**	
		33%	29%	37%	2%	
N=86		28	23	32	2	
		24%	22%	45%	9%	
N=210		51	46	94	18	

Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	No Information on type of education in1976					

TABLE 8

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHYOF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL OR REJECTED SOME OF THE FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	20%	3%	6%	33%	2%	22%
N=86	17	3	5	28	2	19
	19%	6%	4%	19%	3%	29%
N=210	44	12	8	40	6	61
Father's Occupation						
	3%		9%	29%	21%	34%
N=86	3		8	35	18	29
	1%		9%	31%	25%	31%
N=210	2		18	65	52	66
Mother's Occupation						
	76%			2%	2%	1%
N=86	65			2	2	1
	62%		2%	10%	2%	5%
N=210	131		4	21	4	10

The women had a higher percentage support for all the religious practices than did the men and conversely the women had a lower percentage rejection of some of the religious practices. The people who married out had a higher percentage rejection of some of the religious practices compared with their affirmation of all the religious practices. The respondents who were born in the UK were represented in the group who rejected some of the religious practices but not in the group who accepted all the religious practices. The respondents who were educated in the UK had a higher representation in the group that rejected some of the religious practices than in the group who accepted them all. There were more respondents with undergraduate education or higher in the group that rejected some of the religious practices than in the

group that accepted them all. The respondents who came from Iran are hardly represented in table 8, with one respondent affirming all the religious practices and five respondents rejecting at least one of them. In table 10: ‘1976 Survey: Demography of the respondents who affirmed or rejected at least one of the religious beliefs’ 3 Iranians affirm at least one of the beliefs and five Iranian reject at least one of them. They also appear in the analysis of the symbolic boundaries in the section dealing with four of them supporting changing all the symbolic boundaries mentioned in the questionnaire. Although they were few in number in the UK before 1979, the year of the fall of the Shah, they demonstrate a pattern in the 1976 data that reappears in further analyses of the 1985 and 2003 data: they tend to support individual religious values but rarely support all or reject all of them.

The respondents with postgraduate education had a higher representation in the group that rejected all the religious practices than in the group that accepted them all. The respondents who had had all their education in the UK had a higher representation in the group who rejected all the religious practices than in the group who accepted all of them. The respondents who rejected all the religious practices had less people in white collar occupations and more people in professional occupation than the group who affirmed them all.

None of the respondents in the 1976 survey agreed/ disagreed with all the religious beliefs. Table 9 lists the questions about the religious beliefs in the 1976 survey and table 10 shows the people who responded affirm / reject to some of the religious beliefs.

TABLE 9 **1976 SURVEY: THE EIGHT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS**
1. Do you believe in the immortality of the soul?
2. Do you believe in reincarnation?
3. Do you believe in the resurrection of the body?
4. Do you believe in Heaven and Hell?
5. Are prayers for the dead are absolutely necessary?
6. Are prayers for the dead are for the dead?
7. Are prayers for the dead are for the living?
8. Are prayers for the dead are meaningless?

Two hundred and fifty respondents, 80%, affirmed at least one of the questions about their religious beliefs and 279 respondents, 89%, rejected at least one of the questions dealing with religious beliefs. As can be seen from table 10, there is little difference between the two groups of people in terms of their demographic characteristics. They were fairly evenly balanced in their agreement and disagreement about their religious beliefs. The women had lower percentage support for some of the religious beliefs and lower percentage rejection of the religious beliefs compared with men.

TABLE 10
1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	54%	46%				
N=250	135	114				
	55%	45%				
N=279	153	125				
Age	Under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	12%	25%	31%	18%	8%	6%
N=250	30	62	78	44	21	15
	13%	23%	30%	19%	9%	6%

TABLE 10

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

N=279	36	65	84	52	25	17
Marital status	single	married				
	16%	84%				
N=250	40	210				
	17%	83%				
N=279	48	231				
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	Non-Zoroastrian				
	86%	13%				
N=250	210	28				
	84%	12%				
N=279	194	35				
Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	16%	84%				
N=250	41	209				
	16%	84%				
N=279	45	234				
Place live now	Greater London area	other				
	80%	20%				
N=250	199	51				
	80%	20%				
N=279	222	57				
Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	Other	Born UK
	74%	9%	12%	1%	2%	2%
N=250	186	22	30	3	4	5
	73%	9%	11%	2%	2%	3%
N=279	204	24	32	5	6	8
Metropolitan/ urban rural	Metropolitan	Urban or rural				

TABLE 10

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

No information in 1976 survey						
Place of Education	Abroad	Abroad + UK	UK			
	71%	19%	7%			
N=250	178	48	18			
	69%	19%	9%			
N=279	194	53	24			
Level of Education	primary	second-ary	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
		28%	26%	38%	6%	
N=250		69	64	99	16	
		26%	24%	41%	7%	
N=279		74	68	115	20	
Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	No information in 1976 survey					
Respondent's Occupation	Home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	19%	5%	5%	23%	3%	27%
N=250	48	12	13	58	7	67
	19%	5%	5%	22%	2%	27%
N=279	53	15	13	62	7	76
Father's Occupation						
	3%		9%	34%	25%	28%
N=250	7		23	84	62	69
	3%		9%	30%	25%	27%
N=279	7		25	85	69	76
Mother's Occupation						
	70%		1%	6%	2%	1%

TABLE 10
1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

N=250	176		3	16	5	3
	68%		1%	6%	2%	2%
N=279	191		4	17	5	6

Table 11 lists the four questions from the 1976 questionnaire schedule regarding the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism and table 12 reports data about the people who responded affirm/ reject to all four questions about the symbolic boundaries.

TABLE 11
1976 SURVEY:THE FOUR SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

1. Regarding intermarriage: do you accept/ object?
2. Can children of inter-marriage undergo Naujote?
3. Can any non-Zoroastrian to be allowed to undergo Naujote?
4. Can non-Zoroastrians enter the prayer rooms at any time?

Fifty five respondents, 17%, agreed with all four questions about non-Zoroastrians and access to the Zoroastrian religion, but none of the respondents disagreed with all four questions. One hundred and seventy five respondents, 56%, disagreed with at least one of the questions. Unlike the tables about the religious beliefs and practices, the respondents who affirmed the questions about opening the symbolic boundaries were supporting change in the Zoroastrian religious culture whereas the respondents who answered reject did not support change on at least one question from the questionnaire regarding the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism.

TABLE 12

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS OR REJECTED SOME OF THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	65%	34%				
N=55	36	19				
	54%	46%				
N=175	94	81				

Age	under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	18%	18%	29%	24%	9%	2%
N=55	10	10	16	13	5	1
	13%	27%	29%	17%	7%	7%
N=175	23	47	50	29	13	13

Marital status	single	married				
	18%	82%				
N=55	10	45				
	18%	83%				
N=175	31	144				

Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	non-Zoroastrian		
	84%	18%		
N=55	38	8		
	88%	12%		
N=175	127	17		

Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	9%	91%				
N=55	5	50				
	18%	82%				
N=175	32	143				

Place live now	Greater London area	other		
	84%	16%		
N=55	46	9		
	75%	22%		

TABLE 12

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS OR REJECTED SOME OF THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

N=175	132		38			
Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	Other	born UK
	69%	7%	9%	7%	2%	7%
N=55	38	4	5	4	4	4
	75%	7%	14%		3%	1%
N=175	132	12	25		5	1
Metropolitan/ urban rural	Metropolitan		Urban or rural			
No information in 1976 survey						
Place of Education	abroad	abroad + UK	UK			
	74%	13%	13%			
N=55	41	7	7			
	71%	15%	8%			
N=175	125	27	14			
Level of Education	primary	second-ary	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
		24%	27%	42%	7%	
N=55		13	15	23	4	
		34%	21%	38%	6%	
N=175		59	34	67	10	
Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	No information in 1976 survey					
Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	22%	2%	5%	20%	2%	33%

TABLE 12

1976 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED ALL THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS OR REJECTED SOME OF THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

N=55	12	1	3	11	1	18
	16%	6%	5%	22%	3%	24%
N=175	28	10	8	39	6	42
Father's Occupation						
	4%		9%	22%	20%	40%
N=55	2		5	12	11	22
	3%		9%	38%	21%	27%
N=175	5		16	67	36	48
Mother's Occupation						
	64%			9%	2%	4%
N=55	35			5	1	2
	70%		2%	7%	1%	3%
N=175	123		3	13	2	5

More men than women, 65%, 36, and 34%, 19, respectively, supported all four the questions relating to the opening symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. However, fewer women than men rejected at least one of the questions on opening the symbolic boundaries. More respondents who were born in the UK supported opening of the symbolic boundaries than rejected at least one of the questions about opening the symbolic boundaries.

On the whole, the women in the three surveys have given more support for the religious beliefs, less support for the religious practices and changing the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism, than the men. Therefore it is important to look at the differences between men and women in the 1976 and the 1985 surveys and their attitudes to the religious beliefs, practices and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. In table 13 below, the responses of the men and women to the questions about religious practices, beliefs and the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism are given in

detail. The analyses look within the groups of men and women. Thus, for example, 45%, 61, of the women and 37%, 66, of the men were taught about the Zoroastrian religion at school.

TABLE 13
1976 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION OF ZOROASTRIAN RELGIOUS VALUES

TYPE OF GROUP	**N**	**QUESTION**			
	314	**TAUGHT ABOUT ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AT SCHOOL?**			
		yes		no	
Men	177	37%(66)		62%(109)	
Women	136	45%(61)		54%(74)	
	314	**DO YOU PRAY AT HOME?**			
		at least once per day	sometimes	infrequently	never
Men	177	63%(112)	16%(29)	12%(21)	8%(14)
Women	136	58%(79)	26%(36)	13%(10)	6%(8)
	314	**DO YOU WEAR SUDRE/ KUSTI?**			
		always	sometimes	rarely	never
Men	177	75%(132)	7%(12)	6%(11)	12%(21)
Women	136	65%(88)	14%(19)	5%(7)	15%(21)
	176	**CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS TEACH THEM TO PRAY?**			
		yes		no	
Men	102	91%(93)		9%(9)	
Women	73	97%(71)		3%(2)	
	159	**CHILDREN 10-18 YEARS NAUJOTE: PERFORMED?**			
		Naujote performed	intend Naujote to be performed	do not intend Naujote performed	no children in this age group
Men	93	52%(48)	3%(3)	7%(8)	35%(33)
Women	65	58%(38)	3%(2)	1%(1)	35%(23)

TABLE 13

1976 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION OF ZOROASTRIAN RELGIOUS VALUES

TYPE OF GROUP	**N**	**QUESTION**			
	176	**CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS NAUJOTE: PERFORMED?**			
		Naujote performed	intend Naujote to be performed	do not intend Naujote performed	
Men	102	6%(6)	78%(80)	6%(6)	
Women	73	8%(6)	75%(55)	4%(3)	
	314	**FUNERAL PRACTICES PREFERENCE IN EUROPE**			
		Dokhma	cremation	burial	do not mind
Men	177	16%(28)	53%(93)	10%(17)	21%(37)
Women	136	13%(18)	61%(83)	7%(9)	18%(24)
	314	**DO YOU BELIEVE IN**			
		immor-tality of the Soul	rein-carnati on	resurre ct-ion of the body	heaven/ hell	no respons e
Men	177	25%(44)	9% (16)		15%(27)	51%(90)
Women	136	26%(36)	12%(17)	1%(2)	15%(20)	45%(61)
	314	**ARE PRAYERS FOR DEAD NECESSARY?**			
		yes	no	no response	
Men	177	33%(58)	51%(41)	16%(28)	
Women	135	29%(40)	58%(79)	12%(17)	
	314	**ARE PRAYERS FOR DEAD BENEFICIAL/**			
		yes	no	no response	
Men	177	40%(71)	44%(78)	16%(28)	
Women	135	49%(67)	16%(28)	12%(17)	
	314	**ARE PRAYERS FOR DEAD MEANINGLESS/**			
		yes	no	no response	
Men	177	11%(20)	73%(129)	16%(28)	
Women	136	9%(12)	79%(107)	12%(17)	

TABLE 13

1976 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION OF ZOROASTRIAN RELGIOUS VALUES

TYPE OF GROUP	**N**	**QUESTION**		
	314	**CAN CHILDREN OF INTERMARRIAGES: UNDERGO NAUJOTE?**		
		yes	no	no response
Men	177	64%(113)	21%(38)	15%(27)
Women	136	62%(84)	23%(32)	15% (20)
	314	**MARRIAGES ZOROASTRIAN NON-ZOROASTRIAN DO YOU**		
		approve & accept	object	no response
Men	177	76%(135)	17%(30)	9%(12)
Women	136	70%(95)	22%(30)	8%(11)
	314	**CAN ANY NON-ZOROASTRIAN UNDERGO NAUJOTE?**		
		yes	no	no response
Men	177	51%(91)	34%(60)	15%(26)
Women	136	46%62)	42%(67)	12%(17)
	314	**CAN NON-ZOROASTRIANS ENTER FIRE TEMPLE AT ANYTIME?**		
		yes	no	no response
Men	177	49%(86)	42%(75)	9%(16)
Women	136	41%(56)	51%(69)	8%(11)

The women on the whole, give less support for the five religious practices than do the men. However, although they showed less support than men for praying daily and for always wearing the Sudre/ Kusti, they had higher support than men for praying sometimes and sometimes wearing the Sudre/ Kusti. This may reflect their life styles and commitments, or it could be that the 1976 survey was picking up attitudes to the purity laws that concern the women: the women who affirmed the purity laws would not pray or wear the Sudre/ Kusti for a few days each month during their menstrual cycle. They showed a higher support for

the religious beliefs than the men and a lower support for changing the symbolic boundaries.

It was found in 1976 that the statistical analyses of the data showed that the respondents who came from Pakistan and the UK were less supportive, in terms of responses to the questions on the 1976 survey, in their interpretation and practice of Zoroastrianism than the respondents who came from India, Africa, Iran and the 'rest of the world'. Zoroastrians whose parents had high occupational status and who had, themselves, been educated in the UK were more likely to marry out than other Zoroastrians. However, these people do not hold liberal views with regard to the practice of Zoroastrianism by other members of the community. The variables generated by SPSS, Education abroad/UK and Occupation longest abroad/ UK, suggested that those respondents who were educated abroad and worked longest abroad showed strong support for the questions posed in the 1976 survey. The conclusion drawn from the statistical analyses of the 1976 survey was that the higher the occupational status of the respondent the more likely they are to support changes to the controversial aspects of Zoroastrianism: basically who is to be considered a Zoroastrian or eligible to become a Zoroastrian. This does not mean that they are "lax" in their practice of Zoroastrianism as individuals, but that the higher up the occupational hierarchy the greater is the commitment to include as many Zoroastrians in the community as possible.

THE 1985 SURVEY

In drawing up the 1985 survey questionnaire, Professor John Hinnells and the author looked carefully at what had seemed to be important from the 1976 questionnaire, what needed amplifying, adding, how the questions needed to be modified, or the format altered for the 1985 survey questionnaire which was sent out to

Zoroastrian organisations of the Diaspora.[9] . Over 1800 responses were tabulated from all over the world. This paper only uses the responses from Europe, 498, 27% of the total world survey.

TABLE 14
1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS

QUESTION						
1985 Total Group	**N=498**					
Gender	men 52%(257)			women 48%(238)		
Age	under 30 21%(105)	30-39 14%(70)	40-49 24%(119)	50-59 19%(95)	60-69 12%(60)	70+ 10%(50)
Marital Status	never been married 28%(139)			married/partner 71%(353)		
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian 77%(272)			non-Zoroastrian 20%(71)		
Non-Zoroastrian partner	European 93%(66)			non-European 8%(6)		
Type of family in Europe	extended 74%(368)		nuclear 12%(60)		no family 14%(70)	
Place live now	Greater London 83%(412)		Other places 17%(85)		no response .2%(1)	
Place came from to Europe	India 51%(254)	Pakistan 8% (40)	Africa 24%(119)	Iran 4%(20)	Other 3%(15)	born Europe 8%(40)

TABLE 14

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS

QUESTION						
Date arrived in UK/ Europe	before 1970 60%(299)		after 1970 31%(154)		born Europe 8%(40)	
Education Level	postgraduate 24%(119)	undergraduate 44%(219)		further 9%(45)	secondary or less 20%(100)	
Occupation	professio-nal 28%(139)	Business 8%(40)	white collar 32%(159)	blue collar 4%(20)	Retired 27%(134)	no response 2%(10)
Father's Occupation	professio-nal 28%(139)	Business 20%(100)	white collar 32%(159)	blue collar 7%(35)	Retired 6%(30)	no response 16%(80)
Mother's occupation	professio-nal 3%(15)	business 7%(35)	white collar 9%(45)	blue collar 2%(10)	home-maker 57%(284)	no response 21%(104)

In 1985, the responses from people who came from Africa increased to 24% and those from India dropped to 51%. The other categories are roughly similar to 1976 except for the inclusion of mainland Europe. As in 1976, the largest group by age is that of people aged 40-49 years. More people under 30 years answered the survey than in 1976 and people over 70 years answering the survey went up to 10%. Occupational status was roughly the same as in 1976. However, there were no 'no responses' in 1985, whereas in 1976, 19%, of respondents did not answer the occupational status question. The level of postgraduate education increased dramatically in 1985 to 24% from 7% in 1976.

The 1985 survey suggested that these respondents were more supportive in their religious beliefs, practices and attitudes to the preservation of the Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries compared with 1976 and 2003. However, there is an exception to this in terms of attitudes to conversion, where 1976 was not in favour of accepting converts but by 1985 there was a change with 53%, 263, in favour of converts and by 2003 this is even more pronounced.

TABLE 15
1985 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS

1985 Total Group	**N=498**			
QUESTION				
Were you Taught about Zoroastrian religion at school?	yes 29%(144)	no 67%(335)	no response 4%(20)	
Do you pray at home?	daily 66%(329)	sometimes 17%(85)	rarely 9%(45)	never 8%(40)
Do you wear Sudre/ Kusti?	always 71%(354)	sometimes 7%(35)	rarely 5%(25)	never 16%(80)
Children under 18 years: do you teach them to pray?	yes 28%(139)	no 5%(25)	no response 67%(334)	
Children under 18 years: has their Naujote been performed?	yes 33%(164)	no 5%(25)	no response 62%(309)	

TABLE 15

1985 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Preferred funeral practices	Dokhma 18%(90)	cremation 39%(194)	burial 14%(70)	do not mind 28%(139)
Do you believe in immortality of the soul?	yes 47%(234)	no 10%(50)	no response 43%(214)	
Do you believe in reincarnation ?	yes 28%(139)	no 21%(104)	no response 52%(259)	
Do you believe in resurrection of the body?	yes 6%(30)	no 30%(149)	no response 64%(319)	
Do you believe in heaven and hell?	Yes 31%(154)	No 18%(90)	No response 51%(254)	
Are prayers for the dead necessary?	Yes 39%(194)	No 43%(214)	No response 18%(90)	
Are prayers for the dead for the dead?	Yes 25%(124)	No 57%(284)	No response 18%(90)	
Are prayers for the dead for the living?	Yes 18%(90)	No 64%(319)	No response 18%(90)	
Are prayers for the dead meaningless?	Yes 4%(20)	No 82%(408)	No response 14%(70)	

TABLE 15
1985 SURVEY: THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Can children of inter-marriage undergo Naujote?	Yes 59%(295)	No 29%(144)	No response 12%(59)
Regarding inter-marriage do you:	Accept 67%(335)	Object 28%(141)	No response 4%(22)
Can any non-Zoroastrian undergo Naujote?	Yes 53%(263)	No 35%(174)	No response 12%(61)
Can non-Zoroastrians enter prayer room at any time?	Yes 41%(204)	No 49%(243)	No response 10%(51)

The relationships between religious practices, beliefs and values and demographic characteristics of the Zoroastrians for the 1985 survey will be analysed in detail. Table 16 shows the analysis for the people who responded affirm and reject to all five questions about their religious practices. Eighty three respondents, 17%, supported all five questions about religious practices and 22, 4%, rejected all five questions about the religious practices.

TABLE 16
1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	65%	34%				
N=83	36	19				
	54%	46%				
N=22	94	81				

TABLE 16

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Age	under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	7%	14%	28%	18%	17%	16%
N=83	6	12	23	15	14	13
	50%		18%	18%	9%	4%
N=22	11		4	4	2	1

Marital status	single	married				
	14%	86%				
N=83	12	71				
	45%	55%				
N=22	10	12				

Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	Non-Zoroastrian		
	84%	11%		
N=71	60	9		
	42%	58%		
N=12	5	7		

Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	12%	87%				
N=83	10	72				
	9%	91%				
N=22	2	20				

Place live now	Greater London area	other		
	79%	20%		
N=83	66	17		
	68%	27%		
N=22	15	6		

TABLE 16

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	other	born Europe
	70%	8%	18%	1%		1%
N=83	58	7	15	1		1
	27%	5%	23%	9%	9%	9%
N=22	6	1	5	2	2	2

Metropolitan/ urban rural	metropolitan	urban or rural		
	58%	31%		
N=83	48	26		
	45%	54%		
N=22	10	12		

Place of Education	abroad	abroad + UK	UK			
	61%	32%	6%			
N=83	51	27	5			
	23%	50%	27%			
N=22	5	11	6			

Level of Education	primary	second-ary	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
		29%	10%	43%	18%	
N=83		24	8	36	15	
	4%	18%	4%	36%	36%	
N=22	1	4	1	8	8	

Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	29%	16%	20%	20%		
N=83	24	13	17	17		
	23%	32%	27%	14%		
N=22	5	7	6	3		

TABLE 16

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FIVE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES QUESTIONS

Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces retired		blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	28%		5%	41%	1%	25%
N=83	23		4	34	1	21
	36%		4%	9%	18%	27%
N=22	8		1	2	4	6
Father's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	1%	6%	8%	26%	19%	14%
N=83	1	5	7	22	16	12
	4%		9%	9%	23%	45%
N=22	1		2	2	5	10
Mother's Occupation						
	67%		1%	4%	2%	
N=83	56		1	3	2	
	41%		9%	4%	9%	9%
N=22	9		2	1	2	2

Slightly more men than women, one in fact, support the religious practices, but more men, 60%, 13, than women, 36%, 8, rejected the religious practices. Zoroastrians who have married out rejected the religious practices more than Zoroastrians who have married Zoroastrians. Younger people reject the religious practices more than the older respondents. Higher education and scientific education is associated with rejection of the religious practices. Professional occupations are not associated with either support for or rejection of the religious practices, but respondents

in white collar occupations are higher in the support religious practices group.

None of the respondents in the 1985 survey agreed or disagreed with all eight religious beliefs. In table 17 the people who responded affirm/ reject to some of the eight religious beliefs are shown. Four hundred and fifty five respondents, 91%, supported at least one of the eight religious beliefs and 454 respondents, 91%, rejected at least one the eight.

TABLE 17
1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE EIGHT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	49%	50%				
N=455	224	229				
	51%	48%				
N=454	223	218				
Age	under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	19%	14%	23%	20%	12%	11%
N=455	87	64	106	92	57	49
	20%	15%	23%	20%	12%	10%
N=454	91	68	103	90	55	47
Marital status	single	married				
	27%	73%				
N=455	124	331				
	27%	73%				
N=454	121	333				
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	non-Zoroastrian				
	79%	20%				

TABLE 17

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE EIGHT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

N=331	181		67			
	79%		20%			
N=333	263		68			
Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	12%	87%				
N=455	56	397				
	11%	88%				
N=454	52	400				
Place live now	Greater London area		other			
	83%		16%			
N=455	379		75			
	82%		17%			
N=454	374		79			
Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	other	born Europe
	51%	8%	25%	4%	3%	7%
N=455	234	38	112	17	13	34
	50%	8%	25%	4%	3%	8%
N=454	228	36	114	17	14	37
Metropolitan/ urban rural	metropolitan		urban rural			
	50%		37%			
N=455	228		167			
	50%		36%			
N=454	246		178			
Place of Education	abroad	abroad + UK	UK			
	45%	42%	12%			
N=455	105	190	54			
	44%	42%	12%			

TABLE 17

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE EIGHT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

N=454	200	193	55			
Level of Education	primary	second-ary	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
	1%	20%	9%	44%	24%	
N=455	3	93	42	202	110	
	4%	21%	10%	45%	23%	
N=454	2	94	46	204	103	
Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	29%	25%	20%	16%		
N=455	130	113	92	73		
	28%	25%	21%	17%		
N=454	126	112	95	76		
Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces retired		blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	26%		4%	33%	8%	27%
N=455	116		17	150	37	124
	25%		4%	32%	8%	28%
N=454	115		20	147	35	128
Father's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	3%	3%	7%	24%	20%	26%
N=455	13	13	34	109	91	120
	3%	3%	7%	24%	20%	26%
N=454	13	12	34	109	91	120
Mother's Occupation						
	58%		3%	9%	6%	3%

TABLE 17

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED SOME OF THE EIGHT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS QUESTIONS

N=455	226		12	41	28	12
	57%		2%	9%	7%	3%
N=454	260		11	39	31	16

As can be seen from table 17, there is virtually no difference between the two groups of people who do and do not affirm some of the propositions about their religious beliefs, in terms of their demographic characteristics. However, it should be noted that women have a higher percentage of support for the religious beliefs than do the men. The men and women were fairly evenly balanced in their affirmation and rejection of Zoroastrian religious beliefs.

Table 18 considers the people who responded affirm/ reject to the four questions about the Zoroastrian symbolic boundaries: seventy eight respondents, 16%, agreed with all four questions about non-Zoroastrians and access to the Zoroastrian religion and forty three respondents, 9%, disagreed with all the propositions.

TABLE 18

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FOUR THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

Gender	male	female				
	54%	46%				
N=78	42	36				
	51%	49%				
N=43	22	21				
Age	under 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	70+ years
	20%	13%	24%	23%	10%	9%
N=78	16	10	19	18	8	7
	30%	2%	33%	16%	9%	9%

TABLE 18

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FOUR THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

N=43	13	1	14	7	4	4
Marital status	single	married				
	33%	67%				
N=78	26	52				
	30%	70%				
N=43	13	30				
Marital Partner	Zoroastrian	non-Zoroastrian				
	67%	36%				
N=52	35	19				
	97%					
N=30	29					
Type of Family	nuclear	extended				
	9%	90%				
N=78	7	70				
	5%	95%				
N=43	2	41				
Place live now	Greater London area	other				
	73%	27%				
N=78	57	21				
	87%	12%				
N=43	37	5				
Country of Origin	India	Pakistan	Africa	Iran	other	born Europe
	55%	9%	18%		6%	5%
N=78	43	7	14		5	4
	46%	5%	44%			5%
N=43	20	2	19			2

TABLE 18

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FOUR THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

Metropolitan/ urban rural	metropolitan	urban or rural		
	53%	31%		
N=78	41	24		
	35%	32%		
N=43	15	14		

Place of Education	abroad	abroad + UK	UK			
	33%	55%	11%			
N=78	26	43	9			
	58%	26%	16%			
N=43	25	11	7			

Level of Education	primary	second-ary	further	under-graduate	post-graduate	
		15%	8%	44%	32%	
N=78		12	6	34	25	
		21%	21%	44%	14%	
N=43		9	9	19	6	

Type of Education	liberal arts	science	both	other		
	28%	32%	22%	11%		
N=78	22	25	17	9		
	30%	19%	16%	30%		
N=43	13	8	7	13		

Respondent's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	28%	1%	32%	6%	28%
N=78	22	1	25	5	22
	21%	7%	28%	19%	16%
N=43	9	3	13	8	7

TABLE 18

1985 SURVEY: DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO AFFIRMED OR REJECTED ALL FOUR THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES QUESTIONS

Father's Occupation	home-maker / farmer / forces	retired	blue-collar	white-collar	business	profess-ional
	5%		14%	23%	18%	29%
N=78	4		11	18	14	23
	9%		7%	28%	19%	16%
N=43	4		3	12	8	7
Mother's Occupation						
	60%		1%	9%	6%	5%
N=78	47		1	7	5	4
	56%		5%	9%	2%	
N=43	24		2	4	1	

The respondents who support changing the symbolic boundaries had a high percentage of people who had married out, whereas none of the respondents who did not want any change had married out. The respondents who did not want any change had lower educational levels and occupational status than those respondents who wanted change. There was a high percentage of respondents who came from Africa who did not want change to the symbolic boundaries. The under 30 years age group had a high percentage of people who did not want change to the symbolic boundaries and the fact of being born in Europe did not seem to be important, with four people wanting change and two who did not want change.

Complex statistical analyses of the 1985 survey data demonstrated the characteristics of the respondents who wanted to maintain the status quo with regard to the symbolic boundaries and also, which were characteristics of the respondents who wanted to open the

symbolic boundaries. The ones that are relevant to the present paper are listed below:

TABLE 19 **1985 SURVEY: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO WANTED TO OPEN THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES**
1. Early arrival in UK, before 1970
2. Do not mind about funeral practices
3. Prayers for the dead are not important

TABLE 20 **1985 SURVEY: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS WHO WANTED TO KEEP THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES WITHOUT CHANGE**
1. Married to a Zoroastrian
2. Pray at home
3. Wear Sudre/ Kusti
4. Prefer Zoroastrians funeral practices

TABLE 21 **1985 SURVEY: THE BEST STATISTISTICAL PREDICTORS OF ZOROASTRIAN ATTITUDES TO THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES** [10]
1. 'Preferred funeral practices' suggesting that those respondents who wanted their body to be returned to a Dokhma were supportive of maintaining the status quo whereas those respondents who 'did not mind' the type of funeral they had supported opening up the symbolic boundaries.
2. The respondents who described themselves as Zoroastrian supported the symbolic boundaries as they were, whereas those respondents who described themselves as citizens wanted to open the symbolic boundaries.

In the 1976 survey, education was important in explaining statistically, attitudes to the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism: if the respondent was educated outside the UK then they were more likely to support no change to the symbolic boundaries whereas education in the UK indicated that the respondent was likely to favour opening the boundaries. In 1985,

apart from those respondents who gained professional education outside the UK and who supported no change with regard to the symbolic boundaries, education did not appear to be important in explaining statistically, attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. Similarly, occupation was associated with explaining statistically, attitudes to the symbolic boundaries in the 1976 survey; those with high occupational status were in favour of opening the boundaries, whereas those who had low occupational status were not in favour of opening the boundaries. In the 1985 survey, occupation was not important in explaining statistically, attitudes to the symbolic boundaries. This suggests a change in the Zoroastrian population in the UK in terms of its attitudes to its symbolic boundaries. In 1985 there was a different sense of how to preserve Zoroastrianism in the UK as the community became closer to India and less concerned about adjusting Zoroastrianism to the cultural climate of the 'West'. Part of the explanation for the change was the ascendancy of Zoroastrians from Africa, the twice migrants, in the community. It has been suggested that people or groups of people who migrate onwards from their first destination tend to try to preserve their culture as it was in the 'old country'. [11]The Zoroastrians who came to Europe from Africa and Iran after 1970 were political refugees rather than people who had come to Europe for economic or educational reasons.

John Hinnells notes in his analyses of the 1985 survey of Zoroastrians in Europe, that the pattern that emerges is of women being more active and more conventional in religious practice and belief than men and that 'markers of ethnicity' are prevalent among women rather than the men.[12] He also says that both 'Zoroastrian men and women are equal in Zoroastrian belief and practice'. However, he suggests that the purity laws affect the position of women and that since women have the key role in adding members, by birth, to the Zoroastrian faith, the purity laws

to be observed by women 'are a consequence of this special status'. [13] Also, the purity laws to be discussed in this paper concern Zoroastrian women. The differences between the men's and women's attitudes to Zoroastrian religious values in the 1985 survey are shown below in table 21.

TABLE 22
1985 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION RELIGIOUS VALUES

TYPE OF GROUP	**N**	**QUESTION**			
	498	**WERE YOU TAUGHT ABOUT ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AT SCHOOL?**			
		yes	no	no response	
Men	257	30% (77)	66% (170)	4% (10)	
Women	238	29% (69)	67% (160)	4% (9)	
	498	**DO YOU PRAY AT HOME?**			
		at least once per day	sometimes	infrequently	never
Men	257	59% (152)	19% (48)	11% (29)	10% (27)
Women	238	73% (173)	14% (34)	7% (16)	4% (10)
	498	**DO YOU WEAR SUDRE/ KUSTI?**			
		always	sometimes	rarely	never
Men	257	73% (159)	6% (15)	7% (17)	13% (33)
Women	238	68% (161)	9% (22)	3% (7)	18% (44)
	163	**CHILDREN DID YOU TEACH THEM TO PRAY?**			
		yes	no		
Men	88	43% (71)	19% (17)		
Women	74	41% (67)	9% (2)		

TABLE 22

1985 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION RELIGIOUS VALUES

	63	**CHILDREN DO YOU TEACH THEM TO PRAY?**	
		Yes	No
Men	42	62% (26)	38% (16)
Women	20	60% (12)	40% (8)

	54	**CHILDREN WILL YOU TEACH THEM TO PRAY?**	
		Yes	No
Men	34	50% (17)	50% (17)
Women	18	67% (12)	33% (6)

	190	**CHILDREN: HAS THEIR NAUJOTE BEEN PERFORMED?**	
		Naujote performed	Do not intend Naujote performed
Men	109	85% (93)	15% (16)
Women	79	91% (72)	9% (7)

	498	**FUNERAL PRACTICES PREFERED IN EUROPE**			
		Dokhma	Cremation	Burial	Do not mind
Men	257	18% (47)	38% (98)	15% (39)	27% (69)
Women	238	17% (40)	40% (95)	12% (29)	29% (70)

	498	**DO YOU BELIEVE IN IMMORTALITY OF SOUL?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	45% (117)	12% (31)	42% (109)
Women	238	49% (117)	7% (17)	44% (104)

	498	**DO YOU BELIEVE IN REINCARNATION?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	25% (64)	24% (62)	51% (131)
Women	238	31% (74)	16% (39)	52% (125)

TABLE 22

1985 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION RELIGIOUS VALUES

	498	**DO YOU BELIEVE IN RESURRECTION OF BODY?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	4% (10)	35% (90)	61% (157)
Women	238	8% (20)	25% (60)	66% (158)

	498	**DO YOU BELIEVE IN HEAVEN/ HELL?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	31% (80)	21% (54)	48% (123)
Women	238	30% (72)	14% (34)	55% (132)

	498	**ARE PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD**				
		Absolutely necessary	Beneficial for dead	Beneficial for living	Meaning-less	No response
Men	257	38% (98)	24% (63)	18% (46)	5% (12)	15% (38)
Women	238	40% (96)	26% (61)	18% (43)	3% (8)	13% (30)

	314	**CAN CHILDREN OF INTERMARRIAGES UNDERGO NAUJOTE?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	58% (150)	28% (73)	13% (34)
Women	238	60% (143)	30% (70)	10% (25)

	498	**MARRIAGES ZOROASTRIAN NON-ZOROASTRIAN DO YOU**		
		Approve & accept	Object	No response
Men	257	67% (172)	30% (77)	3% (8)
Women	238	68% (163)	26% (62)	5% (13)

TABLE 22 **1985 SURVEY: GENDER AND AFFIRMATION/ REJECTION RELIGIOUS VALUES**				
	498	**CAN ANY NON-ZOROASTRIAN UNDERGO NAUJOTE?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	58% (149)	35% (90)	7% (18)
Women	238	47% (112)	35% (83)	18% (43)
	498	**CAN NON-ZOROASTRIANS ENTER THE FIRE TEMPLE ANYTIME?**		
		Yes	No	No response
Men	257	40% (104)	51% (132)	8% (21)
Women	238	42% (99)	46% (110)	12% (29)

The women in 1985 survey supported the religious beliefs more than the men and they were as supportive as the men in their religious practices, but less supportive of changing the symbolic boundaries than the men, apart from accepting children of the intermarriages and intermarriage itself.

COMPARISON OF THE MEN AND WOMEN IN THE 1976 AND 1985 SURVEYS

In the analyses of the 1976 and 1985 surveys it was noted that women were more supportive than men in their responses to questions about religious beliefs and to maintaining unchanged the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism. The exceptions were in women's attitudes to accepting, as Zoroastrians, the children of Zoroastrian/ non- Zoroastrian marriages and accepting Zoroastrian/ non-Zoroastrian marriages: here the women were slightly more supportive than the men.

THE BENCH MARKS FOR THE ANALYSES OF THE 2003 SURVEY

Bench marks from the results of the analyses of the 1976 and 1985 surveys, relating the respondents' demographic characteristics to their attitudes to the religious values, will be applied to identify 'expected' and 'unexpected' results from the 2003 survey, in chapters 4 and 5 and will help to summarise some of the conclusions from these analyses.

The first important result for this paper, from the 1976 and 1985 surveys, is that people who were born in Europe, or who came as young children, were less likely to support the religious values than people who were born and grew up outside Europe and came to Europe as adults. Age was yet another important factor in determining attitudes to the religious values: the older the respondent the more likely they were to support the religious values. Zoroastrians who had married non-Zoroastrians did not affirm the religious values to the same extent as those who had Zoroastrian partners. The members of nuclear families, especially those with young children, gave more support for the religious values compared with the members of extended families or nuclear families without children. The country or area, in which the respondent lived before coming to Europe, was another important indicator; respondents who came from India and Africa supported the religious values at a higher level than respondents who came from Pakistan or 'other' parts of the world, followed by respondents from Iran and Europe. The type of environment gave further relevant guidance; people in the 1985 survey from the metropolitan cities, gave less support for the religious values than those from an urban or rural environment. The decade of arrival was also important because of the impact of the restriction of free immigration into the UK and other countries in Europe, from their former colonies. After 1970, immigrants came for political reasons as well as economic: the expulsion of people of Asian descent from Africa and the people who came from Iran after the fall of the

Shah. The latter two groups tended to keep their religious beliefs and practices as they were in the 'old country' more than people who were free to move backwards and forwards between Europe and the place they came from. The type of education of the respondents, whether scientific or liberal arts or a combination or any other, such as law or accountancy, was found to be significant when tested in relation to the respondents' attitudes to the religious values. Those who had had a scientific education showed a lower affirmation of the religious values, and respondents with education such accountancy or law, supported them. Finally, the higher up the educational and occupational scales the less likely were the respondents to support the religious values.

QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE 1976 AND 1985 SURVEYS

There were omissions in the 1985 survey questionnaire as was explained in the section Survey Results. The use of statistics to analyse the data on the symbolic boundaries of Zoroastrianism from the 1985 survey highlighted these omissions. The statistics could not explain what was missing from the data. Questions about purity and pollution, the concepts at the centre of the Zoroastrian religion, and the respondent's feelings with regard to Zoroastrian religion, were not in the 1985, nor the 1976 schedule. Nor were other new questions about the values of the Zoroastrian religion versus European values, the respondent's feelings about Zoroastrianism and the respondent's attitudes to the idea of the power of prayer. The rationale behind the addition of these particular questions was due to the theories of religion developed in Sociology: in terms of sociological theory, what was missing from the questionnaire in 1976 and 1985? [14] These, the purity laws, the respondent's feelings about Zoroastrianism, the values of Zoroastrianism and the power of prayer, were part of the areas that were missing form the 1976 and 1985 questionnaires. The

new questions will be discussed in chapter 3 when the 2003 survey is looked at in detail.

ENDNOTES

[1] McNeil P, *Research Methods*, London, Routledge, 1990, p.19

[2] Berger P. L. & Glaser B.G. & Strauss A.L., *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York, Doubleday T. Luckman & Company, 1967

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[4] Blalock H.M., *Social Statistics*, New York, McGraw-Hill Inc, 1979

[5] The author in conversation with Alexia Mei, BSc (Statistics) University of Athens, MSc (Economics) London School of Economics, formerly a statistician with The Nationwide Building Society, on the 14/06/07.

[6] Mehta G.M.T*., The Parsees in Britain: An Analysis of the Survival of a Racial/ Religious Minority*, MA Paper, Bryn Mawr College, USA, 1981

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[9] For example it was decided to drop the individual questions 'have you changed your mind about Zoroastrian religious practice, belief or attitudes towards the Zoroastrian religion?' from the 1985 survey because of the high response of 97% in the 1976 survey affirming that they had not changed their religious practices, beliefs, or attitudes to the Zoroastrian religion? The questions took up a lot of space in the questionnaire and instead two general questions were asked about changes in the respondents' religious practices and beliefs. The data from the 1985 survey demonstrated that respondents who had changed

their religious beliefs had also changed their religious practices, but the majority who had changed their religious practices had not changed their religious beliefs.

[11] Bachu P., *op cit, Twice Migrants*

[12] Hinnells J.R., op cit, The Zoroastrian Diaspora, Religion and Migration, p.600

[13] ----------, *op cit*, p. 720

[8] [9] Mehta G.M.T., op cit, *The Parsees in Britain: An Analysis of the Survival of a Racial/ Religious Minority*, pp. 37-52

[10] Mehta G.M.T., *Zoroastrian in Europe, 1976-1989: A Personal Journey*, Un-published monograph, pp.161-185

[14] Glock C. & Stark R., *Religion and Society in Tension*, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1965